

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 228102  
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66011

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APPROVED BY: AF:WCHARROP

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 228102

NODIS

CHEROKEE FOR MOOSE AND LAKE FROM HARROP

FOLLOWING REPEAT DAR ES SALAAM 3810, ACTION SECSTATE 08 SEPT:

QQOTE S C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 3810

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR DICK MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS

REF: STATE 227301

1. DRAFT PAPER CONTAINED REFTTEL STRIKES ME AS EXCELLENT VEHICLE FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH BRITISH. MY OWN GUESS IS THAT THEY WILL NOT BE VERY RESPONSIVE TO IT, PREFERRING TO HOLD TO OWEN'S PREVIOUSLY PROPOSED APPROACH. BASIS FOR COMPROMISE MIGHT EXIST IN OUR NOT EXCLUDING HOSSIBILITY OF DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN PARTIES

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(AT A LATER STATE) AS CATEGORICALLY AS OUR PAPER NOW SEEMS TO DO AND IN BRITISH IN TURN ACCEPTING IDEAS OF (A) SUBSTANTIVE SHUTTLE TALKS WITH INITIAL EMPHASIS ON EXTRACTING CONCESSIONS FROM SMITH, AND (B) REVIEWING EXTENT TO WHICH THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO TO REASSERT POWER DIRECTLY, WITH (C) FALL-BACK TO TALKING FINAL, POLISHED A-AP TO WORLD AND UN, IF AGREEMENT AMONG PARTIES CANNOT BE OBTAINED.

2. BASED ON PAST EXPERIENCE, AFRICANS WILL NOT BE WILLING TO LEAVE RHODESIAN AFFAIRS IN THEIR PRESENT STATE OF DISARRAY FOR VERY LONG. I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE IT WOULD BE WISE TO LET THEM MAKE THE FIRST MOVE TO STRAIGHTEN OUT THEIR MESS. WE WOULD THEN BE IN BETTER POSITION TO MOVE WITHOUT AUTOMATICALLY OBTAINING AN OPPONENT FOR EVERY SUPPORTER FOR ANYTHING WE WANTED TO DO. I EXPECT THAT OWEN WILL BE EAGER TO MOVE AHEAD, BUT BELIEVE THAT A POSSIBLE COMPULSION TO ACTION ON HIS PART MAY BE A VERY DANGEROUS ELEMENT IN THE PRESENT SITUATION.

3. WITHOUT MINIMIZING MY OWN OFT-PROCLAIMED EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE ON THE FRONT LINE, I BELIEVE THERE ARE LIMITS ON HOW GREAT A ROLE WE CAN EXPECT IT AND SOUTH AFRICA TO PLAY IN APPLYING PRESSURE TO RHODESIA AND THE PF TO ACCEPT A SPECIFIC SOLUTION. IN SHORT I SEE DISCUSSIONS WITH SAG AND FL AT THIS POINT AS PRIMARILY GAP-FILLING EXERCISE TO HELP US CALCULATE WHAT WE WOULD EXPECT FROM THEM IF WE COME UP WITH A SOLUTION -- WHICH WILL STILL HAVE TO HAVE AT ITS CORE SOMETHING BOTH THE PF AND SMITH CAN ACCEPT.

4. IN THIS REGARD, SMITH HAS MADE VARIOUS OFFERS TO MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE AND TO NKOMO, BUT, IT SEEMS TO ME, HE HAS YET TO GIVE THE US AND THE UK A SINGLE THING -- NOR HAVE WE BROUGHT A MAXIMUM OF OUR ADMITTEDLY LIMITED PRESSURE AGAINST HIM. ANY SHUTTLE AND POLITICAL EFFORT SHOULD BE FIRST DIRECTED TO  
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GETTING SOMETHING CONCRETE FROM SMITH, E.G., AGREEMENT TO ELECTIONS OF THE KIND CONTEMPLATED IN THE A-AP, A UN PRESENCE, A UNIFIED ARMY, HIS OWN DEPARTURE FROM OFFICE. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY TO TRY ON SMITH (IF WE COULD GET LONDON TO GO ALONG) WOULD BE STRAIGHT CANCELLATION OF UDI AND A TURN-BACK TO THE BRITISH. THE WAY TO START THE SUBSTANTIVE BALL ROLLING AGAIN IS TO GET ONE OR MORE OF THESE THINGS AND BRING THEM BACK TO THE FL AND PF.

5. THE ALL PARTIES MEETING SHOULD CERTAINLY BE SUBORDINATED FOR THE TIME BEING AND THE A-AP RETAINED AS AN ELEMENT OF CONTINUITY. HOWEVER, THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED VASTLY SINCE THESE WERE FIRST PLACED ON THE TABLE AND A NEW TWIST TO THE WELL-TASTED STEW COULD IN ITSELF BE A HELPFUL CATALYST. UNILATERAL JOC ACCEPTANCE OF A RESTORATION OF BRITISH CONTROL WOULD PROVIDE THAT, AND I AM REASONABLY CONFIDENT THAT THE APPROACH SKETCHED OUT IN THE FINAL PARAS OF YOUR PAPER WOULD GET NYERERE'S SUPPORT. SPAIN UNQUOTE. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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